

The New Magazine

Supplement of

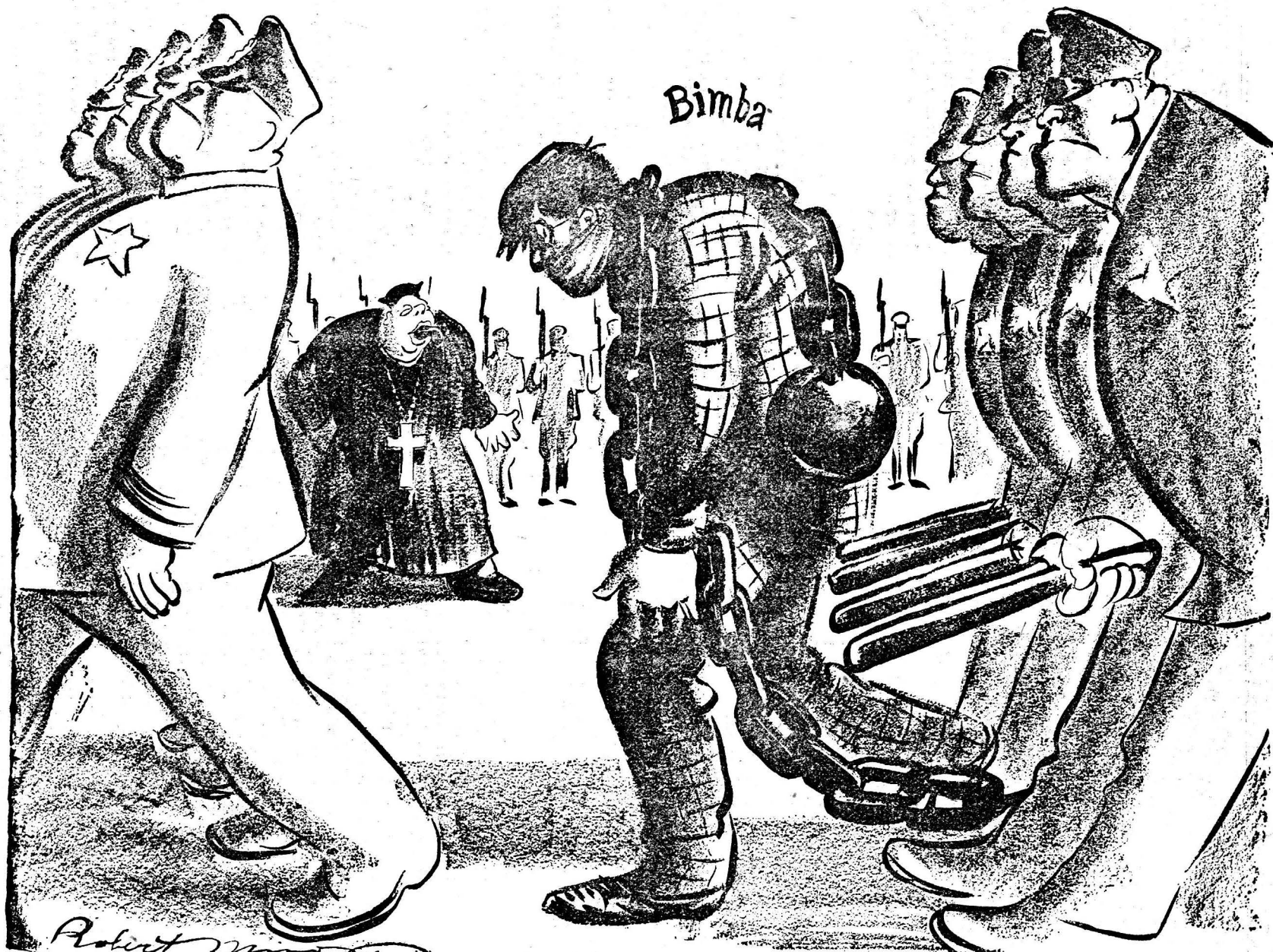
THE DAILY WORKER

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Editor

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The Blasphemer

God, the Supreme Shoe Manufacturer

ANTHONY BIMBA, Communist editor, is on trial at Brockton, Mass., for having told a gathering of shoe workers that there is no god. Bimba is also on trial under the charge of seditious utterance, because he is said to have told the shoe workers that the most intelligent, courageous and aggressive workers ought to join the Workers (Communist) Party. But the tremendous sensation that is now blazoned in the headlines of the capitalist newspapers of Massachusetts is based on the fact that the Communist editor is being prosecuted in the greatest of all shoe factory towns, for denying the existence of the greatest of all shoe manufacturers—to-wit: God, otherwise Jehovah, the Almighty, maker of not only shoes, but also of men, women, hats, coats, dogs, cows, monkeys and bacteria—in short, the Supreme Manufacturer of all things, who even made, so they say, the smaller shoe manufacturers of Brockton in his own very image.

We must remember that Massachusetts is a very pious state. The great Roman catholic church has a little kingdom of its own there, with Boston the seat of the mighty prince of the church of god, Cardinal O'Connell. Then there is the Protestant Episcopal church, with its own little kingdom, and there also, in Boston, is the seat of that other powerful church of Christian Science, founded by the Holy Lady, Mrs. Eddy—and there is the stronghold of Theosophy, and Spiritualism, and New Thought, Unitarianism, Ethical Culture, and all of the other variations of ideas of the Supreme Manufacturer.

It is said that the Roman Catholic Cardinal and his priests are especially interesting themselves in the effort to put the blasphemer in jail. But at the same time the judge and the prosecutor are members of the Unitarian church, which varies from most other churches in that it denies that the Supreme Manufacturer has a superintendent and foreman known respectively as the Holy Ghost and Jesus Christ.

All the cohorts of god are assembled in a united front to put Bimba, the blasphemer, in a little stone cell.

An old law, 230 years old, enacted in the year 1696, is the law under which Bimba is prosecuted. The fact that this old law, enacted at the time when Massachusetts was a colony and was steadily burning witches, and which in its first form imposed the death penalty for atheists, is the only thing which tends to break the united front of the bourgeois community by splitting off the "liberal" section of the bourgeoisie which does not like to uphold what are called the "blue laws."

But it is pointed out by the prosecutors that the old "blue law" has been re-enacted in recent times, long after the burning of witches had ceased and after the Supreme Manufacturer had changed his ways and had inspired the setting up of United Shoe Machinery company's appliances. This is as it should be. God has to be protected, not only in a colonial village, but also in a modern factory.

WHY must the human shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts preserve the belief of the shoe workers in the Supreme Manufacturer of Heaven?

The question almost answers itself.

Shoe workers must believe in the Divine Shoe Manufacturer of Heaven because it helps to make them believe in the mortal shoe manufacturers of Brockton.

The shoe Manufacturers of Brockton have to have god. Those who have inquired into these forbidden matters know that god has undergone many changes, and with every change he has adapted his character exactly to suit the character of the ruling classes of the earth at the particular time—and always in each country to the particular ruling class of that country. With the break-up of feudalism, god was transformed from a feudal warrior into a rotund burger. With the coming of the factory system, god shaved off his beard, put on a white vest and

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God, the Supreme Shoe Manufacturer.

(Continued from page 1.)

spats, and became the best of all business men, keeping books and exploiting labor for surplus value.

When the Communist editor was brot to trial, the prosecutor declared that "the people must be protected in their belief in god."

Yes, it is necessary, from the point of view of the manufacturing interests, to make the "people" (that is, the working people) believe in some variation of the god myth. Or at least, to make them see the whole of the universe in the form which has a supreme authority at the top. This is necessary in order that the working masses will feel that it is "natural" to have a superior class at the top of earthly affairs, owning the social machinery of production and distribution, ruling, exploiting and judging the propertyless workers, even as "God" is supposed to rule, to exploit and to judge the entirety of human kind. Human-kind is supposed to be made "in the image of God,"—but the fact is that god is created (as a mythical figure) in the image of the kings and emperors, and, in later days, in the image of our own Rockefellers and Morgans.

And God always changes with the system of exploitation.

At the present time of tremendous change—or rather in the period which is now nearing its end; the last stage of capitalism—many changes in the forms of religious belief are to be seen. We see an inconceivable number of weird and semi-"rational" religious forms spring up. We even notice that parallel to the effort to establish a single mighty world-oligarchy, as shown among other things in the league of nations and world court, a recent effort is being made to create a "universal religion." And some big Jewish financiers are fostering an effort to reconcile the Jewish and Christian faiths. Among petty-bourgeois philosophers we find a renewed growth of "agnosticism"—the effort to find a pseudo-rational basis without positively denying the existence of "God," but saying, "I don't know," and thereby evading the matter. "Agnostics" are only a variation of the cult of capitalism which does not dare to conceive of a form of society which has no ruling, propertied class, and therefore, does not dare conceive clearly of a universe which has no ruling, all-owning God above. The agnostic sees the universe in the same form as that in which it is seen by the believer in god—he sees the world as a pyramid with the exploited masses below, but says the pyramid leads so high in the clouds that he cannot see whether there is a god on top of it or "something else."

BUT the "blasphemer" in this case is a Communist. His conception of the universe is that of historical materialism. To the Communist view, the Marxian view, the universe is not a reflection of the passing forms of social institutions, with a great mass of perpetually enslaved men at the bottom, under a monstrous pyramid of authority above. The Marxian, the Communist view of the universe absolutely excludes all such questions as the existence of a god. The Marxian is therefore not an "agnostic," but an atheist. He seeks to throw down the system of exploitation and of rule over the masses by a superior human ruling class. He foresees clearly a society in which there will be no superior human authority, and he does not build a mystic image of "divine authority" in mimicry of the human rulers. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not reflected in a mystic system. The Marxian knows that system of superior authority in society is a temporary, not an eternal system, and his scientific materialist philosophy becomes a powerful instrument in his hands to bring about that change. He knows that with the disappearance of a class society, with the disappearance of all necessity for state authority (even, finally, the disappearance of the need of the working class state authority), there will inevitably disappear also all forms of religious belief, all concepts of the rule over mankind by a mystic image of human rulers.

The Marxian, the Communist, helps to free the working class of the superstitious conception of the universe, thereby helping the workers to direct their energies toward their liberation from the rule of the capitalist class. Anthony Bimba is therefore, hailed to court as a blasphemer.

But the tremendous changes that are going on in the material basis of production are reflected at this time by a stirring and unrest even in the bourgeois world's religious forms. Contradictions within the capitalist system bring conflicts such as the "evolution trial" at Dayton, Tennessee. The rapid industrialization of the backward southern states brings the conflict to establish the variations of religious superstition that are better adapted to exploitation of workers in scientifically run factories.

The trial of Bimba is in a certain degree another "Dayton, Tennessee."

But the trial of Bimba is also different from the trial at Dayton. The Dayton case was defended from the point of view of pseudo-rational variations of religious superstition which try to reconcile to themselves the revolutionizing science of Darwin. The Dayton trial was an example of the wavering and evasive contortions of "agnosticism," which seek, not to undermine "divine" authority, but to shift it to a more protected base. But in the trial of Bimba at Brockton, there is no such evasion.

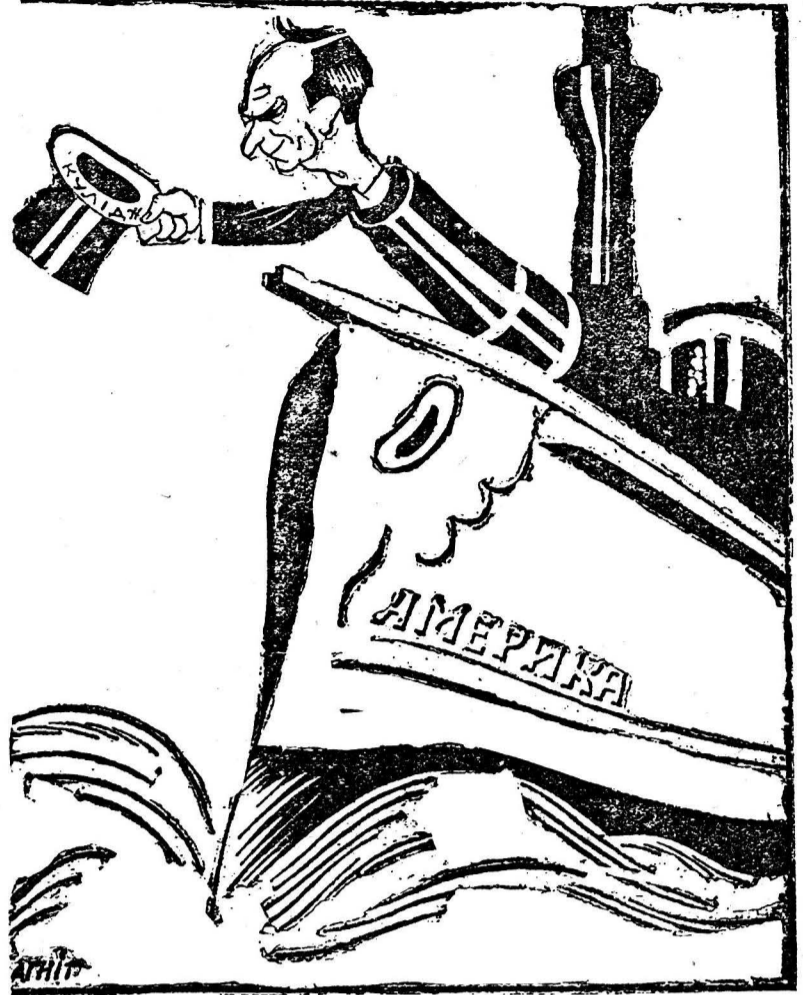
Bimba denied the Supreme Manufacturer, and all of the little shoe manufacturers of Massachusetts, and their priests and preachers and ethical culturists strike at Bimba in vengeance.

In this trial the revolutionary worker, Bimba does not ask the bourgeoisie to accept the revolutionary materialist philosophy—an impossible thot—but insist upon exercising the right of free speech which the capitalist "democracy" pretends to give even to the working class.

From this trial of the Communist editor the workers should learn a great deal about the ideological superstructure of bourgeois society which helps to keep the workers blinded for slavery.

ROBERT MINOR.

Cal Coolidge Comes to the Disarmament Conference



Here is the cartoon from Proletarska Pravda, published in Kiev, Ukraina. The artist shows Mr. Coolidge sticking his head from the 16-inch gun of the battleship America, to tell the European governments that they should disarm. Of course, the game is to have all those nations disarm with which American imperialism expects to have war in the near future.

Class Collaboration Abroad

By F. M.

FRANK Hodges, secretary of the International Miners' Union, has proposed an international merger of the coal operators of several separate countries as a means for helping the British coal crisis. This proposal is heartily welcomed by the German coal operators' paper in the Ruhr, and the German Social-democratic organ, the Vorwarts.

In the organ of our German brother-party, Comrade E. Ludwig, shows how the plans of international capitalist mergers create new reformist illusions among the workers, hoodwinking them with hopes of "peace" through the united front of the capitalists. The proposal of Frank Hodges has arisen from the international coal crisis, which is felt especially in England and Germany. In spite of the state subsidies, the English coal report has continued to decrease after 1925. New and bitter fights threaten from the side of the miners. The subsidies end April 13 and the capitalists demand longer hours and wage cuts. The demand of the miners is the nationalization of the mines.

The German coal operators have been "rational" and have already thrown out of employment tens of thousands of miners. This means that the interests of the German and English coal barons are contradictory. Both of them are conducting a hard fight at the cost of the miners. It is this competition that Frank Hodges now wants to abolish. And his intention is to abolish the class struggle at the same time. This comes out in connection with the appointment of a British Coal Commission advocating the creation of a British coal syndicate. Hodges now wants to conciliate the German operators with this British trust. The threat of monopoly prices by such a merger he puts aside with this sentence: "I fear trusts less than anarchy and chaos."

Of course the German-English coal syndicate could not wipe out capitalist chaos. By lessening German-English competition, the rise in coal prices would provoke customs wars from the side of other countries which are compelled to buy the coal. The controversy between coal capitalists and

other industrial capitalists would not mean abolition of the capitalist anarchy. Nor yet the conflicts aroused by the increase of coal prices.

The German reformist Loeffler gives expression to these same reformist illusions in the following words: "It is to the interests of the miners that the bitter competitive struggles on the world market be prevented, for they, as the economically weaker group, have to bear the costs. But an international organization of the coal industry can exist only if it serves the interests of the coal industry, the miners and the consumers equally."

This is class collaboration, national and international, expressed in plain words. No wonder that the German union bureaucrats are holding up their American brothers as an example. The miners' struggles, now going on or threatening in America, England and Germany, are evidence enough against this reformist illusion. There is only one means of meeting the crisis, says Comrade Ludwig. That is, the nationalization of the coal industry, its operation under the control of organized labor and international understanding of the miners in collaboration with their class brothers of all countries.

To You, Slaves!

By J. D. Spiegel.

I

LIKE a thunder from the sky
Rise ye workers, rise and cry:
"Down exploiters, down ye slayers,
Down ye renegades and betrayers!"

II

Strengthen your arms, clench your fists;
Striving for glory, hold firm your breasts;
Loosen your rage, elevate your fury;
Be ye the judges, be ye the jury!

III

Only through firmness, unity and might
Will you conquer the darkness of night,
And turn it into a blossom-way
For the coming victorious festal day!!

A Temporary Defeat in the Anthracite

By Alex Reid.

Secretary, Progressive Miners' Committee.

THE agreement entered into by the miners' officials and the coal owners in the anthracite field must receive the careful study of the miners, not only in the hard coal, but in the bituminous as well.

The miners' officials are already making much of the fact that the miners at the reconvened convention indorsed the contract, and it is well that we examine the reason of the indorsement, with the contract itself.

The miners after a six months' strike, with but little financial aid, many of them receiving no aid whatever, in semi-destitution, with every agency of the opposition against them, including the officials of the union themselves, found that they could hardly do anything else under the circumstances but accept the proposed agreement.

False Leadership.

LET no man believe for a moment that the miners, in accepting the agreement, thought they had received what they were entitled to, or believed that they got what they could have secured if the strike had been properly managed. Far from it, the miners know that the strike was mismanaged from the beginning, and thousands of discouraged miners accepted the agreement with the statement, "that it is all we can get under false leadership."

Five Year Peonage.

THE miners have returned to work in comparative quietness. As the miners prepare to go below there are no smiling faces to be seen at the pit mouth as are seen after a successful battle with the operators. No, the miners are very grim looking, as they go to work, and many of the miners are heard to denounce bitterly the betrayal. Many of the miners state openly that they return for a while to make a few dollars but that they will never accept the five-year peonage contract.

Co-operate with Bosses.

One particular section of the contract is worthy of special attention. "Co-operation with the bosses for efficiency." A board is to be created to study efficiency, and its plans to be applied "for the benefit of each party." These efficiency boards have prepared plans before in many parts of the mining industry, but the results of the plans have at all times made for more profits to the coal barons at the expense of the miners.

The introduction of machinery has resulted in an addition to the unemployment list, the miners have become mere laborers to the machines, working harder for less money. Their working conditions have been destroyed, and with the new system of mining behind the machines, the old art of mining is almost entirely gone, with the miners as laborers to the machines.

Efficiency in the coal mines of the bituminous, under the Farrington regime, for instance, has resulted in many miners in Illinois being forced to do the work of the day men, such as setting of timbers, cleaning falls, laying track, etc., for little pay, and in many cases for no pay at all. This has resulted in lowering the wages of the miners considerably.

Kicked Out of the Union.

AS in the bituminous, so it will be in the anthracite. Under a five-year contract, the operators will have time to change all working conditions that they desire to change, and will kick all those out of the industry, and out of the union, that object to the change.

No man that has read and studied the contract believes it will run five years as written at the present time. The miners will undoubtedly change the provisions of the agreement, if not by peace, then by strike, long before the five years are up. As they see their conditions lost, one after another, with the resultant reduction in their meager wages, they will undoubtedly strike to remedy the situation, and Lewis will not be able to betray them a second time.

Arbitration.

LEWIS must have understood this when he permitted the arbitration clause to be written into the agreement under a different name. A board of two men has been given full authority to settle any demand of either party to the contract.

The board has been given "full power and with reservations or restrictions, and the parties agree to abide by any decision or decisions of such board either on the merits of the controversy, or as to procedure to be followed."

A forerunner of this condition was found at one of the mines in Wilkes-Barre, belonging to the Pennsylvania coal company, the first morning after the strike. A dispute arose about a certain kind of work at the mine, the operators wanting to change the previous custom. The miners immediately rejected the proposed change, with the result that the men returned home and refused to work until the matter was settled. Bear in mind that this happened the first morning after the men returned to work after having been idle nearly six months, and in starvation.

Will Not Submit.

IT goes to show the men are not going to submit tamely to the terms of the traitorous agreement. It shows something more. It shows the coal operators are not going to wait long before their campaign against the miners' wages and working conditions is launched.

The operators feel they have a tremendous advantage over the men at the present time. Knowing the men are in destitute circumstances and tied down with the agreement, which will be carried out by the miners' officials to the best of their ability, the operators feel that the miners cannot afford to fight against any of these impositions, for fear of losing their jobs and being kicked out of the industry with no other employment to go to.

Repudiate It.

THE operators are gloating over their victory, a victory that could never have occurred under the leadership of the progressive miners, or if the strike had been managed by the rank and file themselves. The capitalist press is also gloating over the miners' defeat, but they are gloating much too soon. The contract is signed, but it is not carried out, and I make the rough guess that the miners will not carry it out for five years.

Capitalists Gloat.

THE New York Times gloats editorially as follows, which is but a sample of the manner in which the capitalist press is trying to break the morale of the miners and to destroy the United Mine Workers of America:

"The outcome reveals him (John L. Lewis) beaten at nearly every point. He ordered the strike in order to get higher wages. He orders the men back to work at the old wage. He demanded the check-off in its most rigorous form. If he gets it at all, it is only in a modified form. For months he vowed to high heaven that he would never consent to arbitration, yet he finally put his name to an agreement which stipulates that controversies not capable of being settled directly shall be referred to a board—to all intents and purposes a board of arbitration—with full power and without reservation or restriction, and the parties agree to abide by any decision or decisions of such board. It is hard to imagine a retreat more complete or a defeat more absolute.

Expected Different Results

WE expect the capitalist press to gloat over the betrayal. That is its service to its class. But surely the miners are entitled to expect something different from their leaders. We pay them high salaries to look after our interest, and we do not scrimp high expenses, as an examination of the report of the treasurer will show.

I deny that we got defeated. That is, I deny that our defeat is permanent. Lewis betrayed us for the moment, but we will never tamely submit to the treason. Our victory is only a little delayed, and when we are ready, when we have a few meager

pays to chase the wolf away from the door, we will again enter the fray and Lewis shall not betray us a second time. Let the capitalists rave and gloat; our time is coming in the very near future, and we will recoup our losses, and will gain our demands.

Already thruout the anthracite the militant progressive miners are organizing for their program, and the rank and file are indorsing the program in almost every local union in the field. This program, which calls for a 100 per cent strike in the industry, would have won the miners' strike, and nobody knows that better than Lewis and his reactionary machine. National yearly agreements, shorter workday and shorter week, etc., etc., will be fought for in the mining industry in America in the very near future, and all the Lewises, Farringtons and Cappellinis will not be able to stop it.

The reconvened convention which indorsed the agreement stands out as the most despicable act of the labor fakery. The miners' representation was cut down to a mere nothing in comparison with the convention that formulated the demands. No opposition was permitted. No discussion was allowed to the progressive miners' delegates. Ed. Sharfenburg, the militant miner, attempted to take the discussion of the merits and demerits of the agreement onto the floor of the convention, but was immediately expelled from the convention. The miners demanded that the progressive miners' leaflets which carried the progressive miners' program be read

to the convention. But altho Lewis stated that it was because Sharfenburg had indorsed the program and distributed it, that he was expelled, and altho the delegates and miners in the galleries demanded that it be read, Lewis refused to permit it to be read.

Many miners stated that if the program had been read, the delegates would have refused to ratify the contract.

And so the strike passes into history as America's "Black Friday," and we, like the British miners, will not forget it.

The settlement is made. A settlement that settles nothing. The miners are more discontented than before they came on strike. They see everything gone for the present time, they see that their six months' struggle proves to be in vain for the present, they see that their officials are to blame for the temporary defeat, and not the strength of the operators. The miners know that the strike could have been won by pulling out the maintenance men, by bringing out the bituminous men to support them, and they are determined that the bunch of traitors will not have it in their power to betray them much longer.

Anthracite miners! Build up the United Mine Workers of America in co-operation with the progressive miners! The progressive miners' program is the only program the miners have, and the program which will make the miners' union the fighting organization for the benefit of the coal diggers that was in days gone by.

Woman's Day

By Lillian L. Borgeson.

THOUSANDS of working class women—women who toil for long hours in factories and shops, and women who struggle continually to maintain their pitifully miserable homes—are rallying together in all parts of the country to celebrate the international holiday of working class women—March the Eighth.

These women workers are opening their eyes to the real meaning of the oppression by the bosses of the working men and the working women. They are learning thru hard and bitter experience the vital need for organization on the part of the working class—both men and women—against the horrible conditions under which we workers are forced to live.

March the Eighth—the day on which the women of the Paris Commune threw off the shackles of their old, humble position, and took their rightful places beside the working men of Paris on the barricades of the revolution, is to be celebrated in Chicago in a particularly effective way.

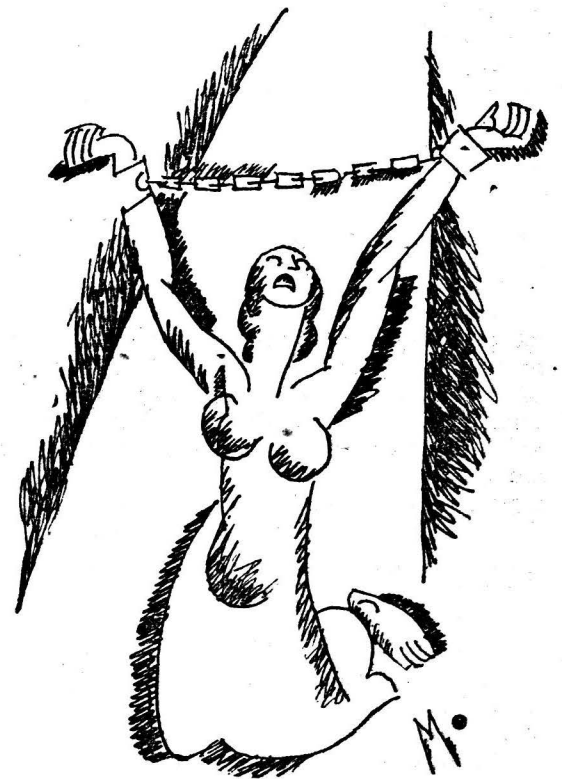
Working women's organizations from all over the city of Chicago, representing eleven different language speaking groups, met in a delegate conference recently to plan an international celebration of women's day. Girls from the machine shops, working mothers worrying about the little ones they'd left at home, women used to the "floor" from participation in their union meetings, real working class women were there. And in enthusiastic little breathless talks, some in speeches in which they obviously sought for their words, these women all showed their intense desire to join

with other women of the working class in this demonstration of their solidarity.

They chose Saturday, March 6, as the time of the meeting, because the 8th happened to fall on Monday and working class women find it hard to get out on Monday. They chose their speakers and assigned the subjects. And the subjects showed their interest—women and the trade unions, women and the class war, the working class housewife, women in Soviet Russia.

If you live in or near Chicago and are interested, and surely no worker can fail to be interested—come to Northwest Hall, Chicago, on March 6, and take part in this demonstration of the awakening of the working class women to their conditions and their resolution to fight for what is theirs.

Remember the place, Chicagoans—Northwest Hall, at the corner of North Ave. and Western Ave., Chicago. Remember the date—March 6—on Saturday. Remember to come.



Profits of the Future - - By Harry Gannes

THE present world rubber situation brings into prominence a feature of monopoly capitalism that Lenin wrote about in his work on "Imperialism." One of the characteristics of imperialism is its control and monopoly of the world supply of raw material. As this is accomplished the struggle between imperialist nations begins to center about the control of possible, future sources of raw material.

"Not only are the already discovered sources of raw materials of importance to finance capital," says Lenin, "but also the possible sources of such materials, as technique is developing very fast in our times, and the lands which today are useless, may tomorrow become useful. . . . Just as the trusts capitalize their property at two or three times their value, counting on the 'possible' future profits and on further results of monopoly, so also does finance capital in general tend toward the acquisition of as much land as possible, no matter what kind, where, or how, counting on the future sources of raw materials. . . ."

The restrictions on the export of rubber by British producers, imposed by the Stevenson act, has created a monopoly on this very important raw material that has sent American rubber manufacturers scurrying all over the world seeking possible, future sources of rubber. While it is true that the American rubber manufacturers are not losing any money by the present restriction of rubber (the rise on the crude material being transferred to the purchaser of the finished product) large producing capitalists feel very uneasy when a foreign imperialist power has complete control over a much-needed raw material.

American imperialism does not like to be placed at the mercy of a competitive nation for any of the important raw materials.

While rubber holds the center of interest at the present moment, there are other star actors on the international economic stage which concern American capitalists. There is an official Franco-German control over the price of potash. The Chilean government manipulates the price of nitrates; and America's reaction to this monopoly gives us a very vivid picture of imperialism at work thru the instrumentality of the Tacne-Arica Commission, enslaving a smaller nation that accidentally possesses a much needed mineral. The Dutch government controls quinine; Yucatan, sisal, from which is made binder-twine used in American wheat fields.

The United States consumes 900,000,000 pounds of rubber yearly. A little over a year ago the price of crude rubber to the manufacturers was 35 cents per pound, and with the passage of the Stevenson act by Great Britain, the price jumped to \$1.10 the pound; it now hovers around 90 cents per pound. At the same time, the amount of rubber imported has been restricted by the rubber planters.

The immediate situation is clearing up. The price of rubber is gradually going down and the supply is becoming more abundant. But it is not the intention of the British imperialists to relinquish this very important monopoly, which is especially directed against the United States, as this country is the world's largest user of crude rubber.

The fact that the American tire and rubber goods manufacturers are not so much concerned with the immediate situation as they are with the future source of supply is indicated by the unanimity that prevails among the leading men in the rubber industry in their search for a future supply of this raw material.

Though little actual sowing of rubber trees has been undertaken, F. A. Seiberling, president of the Seiberling Rubber Company of Akron, Ohio, has been carrying on negotiations with Senator Osmena of the Philippine independence Commission for concessions to rubber growers in the Philippines; Harvey S. Firestone, of the Firestone Company, has been chasing his engineers all over the world looking for possible rubber plantations.

Mr. Firestone first chose the Philippines as the best place for his operations. But the Philippine land laws, which restrict the size of plantations, caused him to hesitate. Conferences with a view to raising the restrictions by the Philippine legislature proved futile, as the Filipinos recognized that the infiltration of large sums of capital would at the same time act as a loadstone. With American capital more firmly established in the Islands the possibility of independence of this American colony would disappear completely. Hence the laws were not changed to suit Mr. Firestone.

However, just recently negotiations with the Filipinos have been resumed by Mr. Seiberling, and according to newspaper reports he was able to extract very satisfactory promises from Senator Osmena. When this bit of news reached Manila the wires began to grow hot.

The president of the Filipino Legislature, Quezon, sent Osmena a cable asking full details of negotiations between him and Seiberling. Quezon said, in part:

"United Press dispatches quote Seiberling as stating that he agrees with the opinion recently expressed by you whom he described as receptive to suggestions for development of rubber possibilities of the Philippines and who believes that the problem of land restrictions can be adjusted and solved. . . . Please cable what has taken place between you and Seiberling."

Osmena replied saying: "I told him any reasonable proposition submitted to the legislature would undoubtedly receive due consideration. Our stand having always been against any curtailment of our autonomy. Proposals to amend land laws by congressional enactment will of course be vigorously opposed."

Osmena was referring to the congressional investigation of the British rubber monopoly then under way, which seemed extremely well in the hands of the rubber manufacturers, ready to do their bidding. But for the time being no direct steps have been taken in the Philippines to insure the future supply of crude rubber and profits to the rubber manufacturers.

Harvey S. Firestone, his Philippine venture fruitless, did not become discouraged but immediately sent engineers to every available rubber country. Inquiries were instituted by his technicians in Mexico; but the results were not very satisfactory. They next went to Central Africa and Panama. Here the labor supply was limited and not cheap enough. Then hopeful eyes were turned to Liberia.

The aim of Firestone in Liberia is a million-acre rubber plantation producing 400,000,000 pounds of rubber a year, at a cost of about 10 cents per pound. Harvey Firestone, Jr., in an interview in London given to a correspondent of the Wall Street Journal, said that 2,000 acres had actually been planted. The wages to be paid to the Liberian workers and peasants by the Firestone plantations will be 24 cents a day; though British experts assured the Firestones that they would have to pay much higher, at least 48 cents per day. Young Firestone insisted that they could get all the workers they need at 24 cents a day.

During the course of giving testimony before the Congressional committee investigating the rubber monopoly, Harvey S. Firestone told of a 35,000 acre plantation that had been leased by him in the State of Chiapas, Mexico. "I want to point out," said Mr. Firestone, "that it is my opinion that if America is to attain any degree of independence in its source of supply of rubber as well as other materials, which are now in the hands of foreign monopoly, our government must give proper encouragement to capital and must assure the industries interested that it will lend its utmost assistance in protecting our investment."

The Rubber Association of America, the central executive committee of the rubber manufacturers cartel in the United States, proposes spending millions of dollars establishing an independent source of supply for Ameri-

Getting Theory



"Without Revolutionary Theory, There Can Be No Revolutionary Practice!" (Lenin). The artist, Lydia Gibson, shows the worker reading the "Workers Monthly," the theoretical organ of the Workers (Communist) Party.

can manufacturers. The places particularly chosen by the Rubber Association were the Philippines, Sumatra, Liberia and other far eastern countries.

There is the possibility of the invention of synthetic rubber. But so far the chemists have not been able to produce a substitute cheap enough.

Charges have been made against Herbert Hoover, the political leader in the fight against the British rubber monopoly, that his interest is purely

personal. He desires campaign material for booming himself for president. This might be true. However, sometimes the bourgeoisie must use political issues based on the political and economic situation that confronts them. Hoover is exploiting the desires of the rubber manufacturers for future profits, on the one hand, and on the other hand the chauvinistic prejudices of the petty bourgeois, as well as their resentment to the increased cost of tires and other rubber articles.

Jobless? You're Bugs!

By Henry.

IN these columns two weeks ago I described one of the many religious meetings that took place in the "Hobo College" in the past four months.

Aside from the Jesus peddlers, who in large numbers come to the "College" to inject their religious dose of obedience and submissiveness into the hungry, homeless and jobless men, there comes another class of capitalist hirelings who call themselves "psychiatrists."

Many of those "psychiatrists" who come to the "Hobo College" occupy high positions in state and county hospitals for insane, or in penal institutions, universities, or such. Others fare well on the fat fees they charge bootleggers and convicted criminals for making them out as insane when caught for crime. It is rather amusing to observe how this branch of the head-fixing industry is supporting the crumbling robber system. In the past few weeks many of the so-called "mental disease specialists" spared no efforts to convince the jobless men that the reason they have no jobs is because they are either physically or mentally defective. The main cause of vagrancy—they say—is physical or mental disability.

A vagrant, according to the law, is a person without visible means of support, so all men out of work are in the vagrant class.

Here is the list of mental diseases, as given by the psychiatrists, that afflict the unemployed and cause men to go from place to place seeking jobs that are not there:

Insanity, neurosis, paranoia, psychopathic personality, or—the man

may be simply a "moron."

So if the boss discharges you from work, immediately you get one of the above mental diseases and you will have it until you get back to work, if you are lucky enough to find a job.

Someone asked one of these "specialists" this question: "Is it not a fact that over 85 per cent of all crime that is being committed is committed against private property, as, for instance, robbery, theft, burglary, petit larceny, embezzlement, etc., and if we would abolish private property would not crime automatically decrease 85 per cent?"

"It may be true that 85 per cent of all crime is committed against property," the "specialist" answered, "but I am not interested in that, I am interested in the abnormal behavior of a person who steals." In other words if a man is hungry and steals a loaf of bread they call that abnormal behavior and psychiatrists will prove that, not his belly, but his head, is abnormal.

From my observations of the capitalist dope peddlers and the spirit in which the men react to the carefully prepared doped, it seems to me that the big joke is on the "psychiatrists." The men may listen as they do to the capitalists' bugaboos, but they have learned by bitter experience in life that the blame for their wretched lives lies, not in the mental disorder of the starving wage slave, but in the social system itself. If there are any shortcomings in the mentality of the average worker it is the lack of understanding of the value of workers' organization. Join militant workers' organizations and you will quicken the tempo of the march of progress of the working class that leads to a better tomorrow for those who toil.

Dictatorship in the American Revolution

By Gertrude Brown.

THE American War of Independence has usually been pictured as a spontaneous uprising of the whole liberty-loving American people against British tyranny; an event in which "liberty, fraternity, equality" were the watchwords, and oppression could have no part. No wonder that many have been led, or rather misled, into thinking that there is an American way of making revolutions democratically—as against the Russian Dictatorship of the Proletariat. But this conception is as false as it is mischievous. It is the result of myth-making, not history. The truth is that the Revolution was a bitter civil war as well as a war for independence. From the very first there was as large a faction against the Revolution as for it. And how were these anti-revolutionists treated by the patriots? They were beaten, suppressed, routed out of the country. Their property was heavily taxed and later confiscated. Loyalists, or Tories as they were called, "were social lepers." They had neither rights nor privileges. A journal of the time so defines one:

**A Loyalist is a thing
Whose body is in America
Whose head is in England, and
Whose neck ought to be stretched.***

As stated, the Loyalists were no small number. They were chiefly composed of the following classes: (1) the royal governors and their coteries (2) those merchants who needed British protection, (3) the large landholders of New York and the middle colonies, (4) the clergy and all their followers, (5) the aristocracy of "culture" and professions. But these classes were playing a losing game. With their adherence to royalty, feudalism, to the dying system of social castes and legal privileges, they were harking back to the past. Their institutions were disintegrating, their power for progress nil. On the other hand the revolutionaries were of the rising class. They represented the merchants and manufacturers. They stood for capitalism, constitutional government, freedom of trade. And, tho they fought for their own interests entirely, they represented the needs of the time. Their day was dawning. Thus they were more aggressive, better organized, more conscious of their aims and fully determined to realize them.

The Patriotic Dictatorship.

AS the struggle became definite and the opposition crystallized, the revolutionists began organizing to crush it. In their struggle for liberty they utterly ignored the rights of anyone who did not identify himself with their aims. "The machine for suppression of the anti-revolutionists," according to S. G. Fisher, ("The Struggle for Independence") "was fully as well-organized and systematic as Washington's army!" As early as April, 1772, two years before the declaration of Independence, Boston organized the Committee of Correspondence. This body sent out appeals to other colonies to follow their example. And in a short time there were similar committees everywhere. Later many others were formed. There were then Correspondence Committees, Committees of Safety, Committees of Sixty, Committees of One Hundred, Committees of Inspection, of Observation, Town Committees, Precinct Committees, County and District Committees. Some were temporary, others permanent. For every Loyalist demonstration there was organized a committee to deal with it. These bodies were pledged to secrecy. Their rule was tyrannical and despotic in the extreme. Even where the Loyalists were in a clear majority they were so roundly defeated, persecuted, and hounded out of the country that they "never opened their heads again." First, and most important, they were **disarmed**. Revolutionist groups went from house to house and took away all Loyalist weapons. They were urged by the Continental Congress to perform this task with the utmost thoroughness. As arms were then not easily obtainable, this meas-

* Quoted by S. G. Fisher, "Struggle for Independence."

ure did more than anything else to weaken the opposition.

Illegal Elections.

THE revolutionaries were never deterred from action because they were in the minority. Committees were appointed at county meetings where sometimes not more than one-fourth of the freeholders attended. In the elections for delegates to the first Continental (inter-Colonial) Congress—in Boston—Samuel Adams had the key of the assembly-hall in his pocket, allowing no one in or out; in Georgia five out of twelve parishes sent deputies; in South Carolina ten out of thirty-four counties sent none; in New York there were heavy majorities against sending delegates, but deputies were sent nevertheless by small groups of revolutionaries who taxed themselves to pay the expenses. In some counties only one-twentieth of the voters were present. As one editor expressed it—"Two men met, and one appointed the other a delegate to the Congress."* Another said, "The Continental Congress is a law-making body, unknown to the law or the constitution of the country."**

Civil Liberty Abolished.

ANTI-REVOLUTIONISTS had no rights. They had no vote. They could hold no offices, could not receive valid title to land, act as jurymen, or use the courts to sue for damages to person or property. In some cases Loyalists could not be apothecaries.

Freedom of speech, press or assemblage was absolutely unknown. One Tory said, "There is more liberty in Turkey than in the dominions of Congress." Tory publishers were assailed, their presses broken, their lives threatened if they dared offend again, many could find safety only by leaving the country. Disparaging the congress or the states was interdicted. Citizens were persecuted for drinking the king's health, for discouraging enlistments in the patriot army. One man was arrested because he called his dog "Tory," thus intimating that a Tory led a dog's life. A preacher was haled into court because he baptized a child "Thomas Gage," the name of an English general. This man was accused of using a religious maneuver to insult the cause of liberty. In all these proceedings mere suspicion was sufficient to lead to imprisonment. The committees called what witnesses they chose and freely condemned suspects to prison in their absence.

Even neutrality was a crime. Families were roughly dealt with because they had not prevented their relatives from joining the British service. Some were compelled to hire substitutes for any of their relatives who had fled to evade service and were held responsible for any misdeeds of the substitutes so hired.

Property of the Tories Fair Game.

THE possessions of the Tories were at all times insecure. High fines were imposed for every kind of offense. If they were wealthy they were heavily taxed for war expense. Some were compelled to pay stipulated sums daily to the guards stationed at their homes. In New York and South Carolina, Loyalists were obliged to make good all robberies committed within their country, while men tried for theft were condoned if their victim had been mistaken for a Tory, and altogether excused if he actually was one.

In most of the colonies the lands of the Loyalists could be freely used for war purposes—as appropriating their timber to build Continental vessels. And in towns containing a minority of Tories, their property was quite freely disposed of. Desirable articles of their personal property were often raffled off by the authorities. They were deprived of kitchen utensils and even wearing-apparel. And—shades of Russian emigres!—there is a pathetic instance of "two aristocratic ladies using their coach-

* Quoted by Van Tyne, "The Loyalists."

** Westchester Farmer, 1775.

house as their dining-room and the fowl-house as their bed-chamber."*

As the struggle progressed, the states realized how valuable the property of the thousands of refugees was for revolutionary war purposes. The authorities then began to protect the property from vandalism and to confiscate it "legally." The legislatures passed laws to this effect, specifying in the preambles just how it was to be disposed of. This was systematically carried on till many years after the treaty of peace. New York alone is said to have derived more than \$6,000,000 from this source. Washington expressed his hearty approval of these measures saying that "the state of affairs demanded such severity."

Mob Action Everywhere Legally Sanctioned.

LYNCHING originated at this time. It was called "Lynch's Law," after the name of Charles Lynch of Virginia who took the punishment of Tories in his district into his own hands. His example was widely followed, and there was no limit beyond which this summary punishment might not go. Tories were ridden on rails, left tied to trees in the woods, pelted with stones mercilessly. Groups were led through villages and tormented in every gruesome way until they shouted, "Hurrah for Liberty." Hundreds were put to hard labor of all kinds. A novel form of torture was to lock victims up in rooms in which a fire was burning, with the chimney stopped up.

Tarring and feathering became a recognized form of punishment, inflicted upon the slightest suspicion. There were victims by the thousands. One man in a letter to a friend asks if it would be "featherable" to carry a certain paper in his pocket. In fact, the practice was so well recognized that an official record in describing the tarring and feathering of several Tories says: "and the whole was conducted with that regularity and decorum which ought to be observed in all public punishments."

The legislatures and courts sanctioned all violence committed, holding that the motives justified the deeds. In the case of a suit for damages against Judge Lynch, for example, the court ruled that as he "had suppressed conspiracy by timely and effectual measures which although not strictly warranted by law, were justifiable from the imminence of the danger, he and persons whatsoever concerned in suppressing the same conspiracy . . . stand indemnified and

* Van Tyne, "The Loyalists."

exonerated from all pains, actions, and suits."* The public sentiment in this case is well reflected in several ditties sung at the time, in which Lynch and his aides are extolled. Here is one for example:

**Hurrah for Colonel Lynch
Captain Bob and Calloway!
They never turned a Tory loose
Until he shouted "Liberty."**

Persecution Continued After the War.

THOUSANDS of refugees were debarred from returning to the country after the treaty of peace. For one reason because it was a serious matter to have been tainted with treason. For another, it was extremely difficult for many to re-establish themselves, as all their possessions had been confiscated and would not be returned. Many thousands were legally debarred even if they could have returned unmolested because, as was well expressed by Samuel Adams, the patriot, "They could scarcely fail to treat with contempt the new order of things, and try secretly to undermine it."* This measure was particularly important because for several years it was feared that Great Britain would try to re-establish herself in America. Thus they did not hesitate legally or otherwise to hold the reins tightly in their hands as long as there was danger of overthrowing their new order.

Conclusion.

THE value of knowing that the American war for independence was no saintly affair lies not in belittling its achievements. It was no doubt historically necessary to throw off the British yoke, to establish capitalism in this country, to create a proletariat. The Dictatorship of the Patriots too was necessary, since no ruling class gives up without a struggle. But if this rigid control over the opposition was essential and justifiable in the American Revolution, it is a thousand times more so in the proletarian revolution, in which the opposition is world wide and unrelenting, and the vanguard small. The American revolutionaries saw clearly that if they did not oppress the Tories, the Tories would oppress them. So too we workers must know that if we do not down the bourgeois opposition, it will down us. It is up to the working class to bring to success the real Revolution. For as Marx so well puts it, in the Communist Manifesto, "All previous revolutions were revolutions of minorities in the interest of minorities; the proletarian revolution is the self-conscious independent act of the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority."

* Quoted by Cutler, "Lynch Law."

* J. Hosmer, "Samuel Adams."

"Settled"

A Poem on the Anthracite Strike

By ADOLF WOLFF.

**BACK to the treadmill slaves!
Back to the tunneled night
Back to your cavern graves
The mines of anthracite.**

**Beaten and betrayed
By those you pay to lead
Heavily you've paid
Profusely you bleed.**

**You dared like men to stand
Against abuses frowned.
To force your just demand
Your busy tools you downed.**

**Hunger you defied,
Despair, and biting cold,
Most bravely you tried,
The battle line to hold.**

**You lost, and lose you must
Like doomed and beaten slaves
Until you cease to trust
Your leadership to knaves.**

The New Kind of Lynching

By Elsa Bloch.

TWICE within a period of two weeks, the newspapers of the country have given the publicity of the first page to cases of southern Negroes, charged with crime, to whom state officials, "at great expense and trouble," had given "protection" from the waiting mobs.

On February 1, the newspapers reported that Edward Harris, a Negro of Lexington, Kentucky, was to be brought into court on the charge of having "murdered a man and his two children, and assaulted the wife." The papers detailed elaborate plans being made by state officials to "protect Harris from attack." "Cavalry, machine gun squadrons, and a tank company" were to guard the courthouse to prevent mobs from breaking in and seizing the prisoner.

The next day the papers told of the use of "tear-gas bombs to rout the mobs at Harris' trial." On February 3, screaming headlines announced that the jury in the Harris case, having "deliberated sixteen minutes," brought in a verdict of "guilty" and a death sentence.

From Georgetown, Delaware, a week later, came the news that "tear-gas bombs were used to rout the mob storming the trial of a Negro," and that while this was going on the jury sentenced the "attacker of a twelve-year-old girl" to death.

WITHIN the sixty-one years that have passed since the close of the civil war, thousands of lynchings have taken place. These the newspapers have reported, briefly, and with more or less indifference. Only a few weeks ago, newspaper readers learned of a lynching party which had hit on the refinement of broadcasting by radio the screams of its victim. This report aroused little comment in the capitalist press. And it has also happened that Negroes accused of crime have thru luck escaped lynching. And no headlines announced these events.

BUT now suddenly, newspapers are filled with the "bravery" and "determination" of state officials who "prevent lynchings or attacks on Negroes brought to trial." Why?

Because there is pending in congress a bill—the Dyer bill—which makes a gesture of putting upon the federal government the responsibility for punishment of lynching. All the exaggerated stories of how law-abiding officials prevented the lynching of two Negroes, all the bloated reports of "protection from the mob" which a kind state has given to two of its colored citizens (while proceeding to sentence the same colored citizens to death in 16 minute trials) are nothing more than an attempt finally to kill the anti-lynching bill which has been in congress committees ever since 1921.

WHAT was the character of the trial accorded the two Negroes Harris was arrested on one day; on the next he had been convicted. There was no long-drawn-out trial, such as is accorded wealthy men in cities. In Chicago, there were no psychiatrists to prove the "insanity" of the defendant; there were no witnesses for the defense. No man of Harris' own race was allowed on the jury. Harris had a perfunctory trial, the jury "deliberated" for sixteen minutes, and the sentence was death.

SERVILE capitalist "Negro" newspapers, altho they customarily protest against lynching, are silenced by this "trial." Intellectually chloroformed with the superstition of legalism, some boot-licking Negro editors are overcome by the fact that the victims "had a trial."

Let us say openly what everybody with any intellectual courage knows to be true—that such a trial was another form of lynching. Except that the torture of the stake was lacking, there is no difference between such a trial and a lynching.

No need to flinch because the Negro victim is accused of rape. The word "rape" is a means of preventing any defense. This will raise a howl of rage from those who are steeped in the systematized hysteria which is the

ideology of this capitalist land. If a Negro is accused of rape and you dare defend him—you are guilty of defending a rapist! Therefore if you want to hang an innocent man without a defense, accuse him of rape, and nobody will dare defend him. This is glaringly illustrated in the "trial" of Edward Harris. There were two charges against him: one of murder and one of rape. The prosecutor chose to give him his sixteen-minute "trial" on the charge of rape; there was no defense, and the mere utterance of the charge was assurance of conviction.

Nor is there any reason under the circumstances to take seriously the statement that the black prisoner confessed. Such confessions have exactly the value of the confessions that once were wrung from the victims of the church inquisition,—that is, precisely a little terrorizing, a piece of paper and a pencil. We know something of the way confessions are obtained from terrorized victims.

The newspapers do not suggest what would have happened to the two Negroes in question had they—by some miracle—been proved innocent. We know that they would have been hanged anyway. But there are no miracles, and there was not the slightest chance of anything but death for the Negro in this "trial." Therefore it was not a trial, but a lynching. "The spectators in the courtroom glowered at the skinking defendant," commented the Chicago Tribune in its account of Harris' trial. What juror would have dared to hold out against the evidence of such flaming race-hatred?

WHAT the newspaper propaganda has been telling the southern mobs is this: "You need not trouble to lynch a Negro accused of crime. You can rely on our courts, in which only white judges,—only white jurors (poisoned with ruling class ideology) and only white spectators are allowed, to kill that Negro just as surely as if you were to bind him and light the kindling under his feet. We allow no Negroes to hear the case. We stuff the white population, which is to make up our juries, with lies about the character of the Negro, so that they will be certain to convict. We can have the whole thing over with and the 'nigger' on his way to the gallows in sixteen minutes. This method may not be as pleasurable as a lynching, but it is as certain, and it puts the stamp of legality on the whole matter and prevents the possibility of interference with our established practices."

THE day after sentence had been passed on Edward Harris, the Chicago Tribune carried the following editorial:

"Kentucky used the protective force of its state militia to give Edward Harris, Negro murderer and rapist, a trial and save him from a lynching. It was a quick trial, with a plea of guilty and a hanging sentence, but the mob did not get him. Harris killed a white man and his two children and attacked the wife. The justice usually administered in the south to such a Negro criminal involves a mob, a smashed jail door, a rope, and the nearest telegraph pole. Kentucky, calling 1,000 guardsmen into service at a cost to the state of some \$30,000, is establishing a new civilized order in place of the barbarous method of lynching."

"Kentucky's example is the best argument yet offered against the Dyer bill. The Dyer anti-lynching bill is pending in congress, its aim, to empower the federal government to arrest and prosecute those guilty of aiding in a lynching. The Dyer bill is bad because it relegates to the central government police powers properly belonging to the state. It should be defeated, but southern states, to justify their opposition, must demonstrate that there is no necessity for outside law to step in."

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THE story of the course of the Dyer anti-lynching bill in congress is interesting. The republican party never intended the Dyer anti-lynching bill to become law, and saw to it that even if it became a law it could be

used for the reverse of its pretended purposes. Ever since the introduction of the bill in the fall of 1921—which the republicans were unable to avoid—the republican caucus in congress, while pretending to be heartily in favor of the measure has made every effort to lose it on one pretext or another. The recent newspaper campaign against the bill is only the climax of the long story.

The prevalence of lynching, especially in the southern states, no one in congress attempted to dispute. The report of the house judiciary committee said:

"In the thirty years from 1889 to 1918, 3,223 persons were lynched, of whom 2,522 were Negroes and of these fifty were women... the south (had) 2,834, with Georgia leading with 386 and Mississippi following with 373... In the year 1919, 77 Negroes, 4 whites and 2 Mexicans were lynched; ten of the Negroes were ex-soldiers, one was a woman. During 1920 there were 65 persons lynched; 6 were white and 59 were Negroes; 31 were hanged, 15 shot, 8 burned, 2 drowned, 1 flogged to death, and 8, manner unknown."

Of course the charge that the Negro is a beast who will take advantage of the Dyer law to commit atrocities, that he is especially prone to crime and must be dealt with by special measures, is one of the lies which the ruling class of the south (and of the whole of the United States, for that matter) has used to poison the minds of white workers against black, to keep the Negro in a state of semi-slavery for the benefit of the rich employer.

Many of the members of lynching parties in the south, knowing that no state official would presume to arrest a white man for the murder of a Negro, have taken no trouble to conceal their identity. A few weeks ago the Chicago Defender, a Negro weekly, was able to print the picture of a mob, taken while the mob was in the act of burning a Negro. The members of the mob did not attempt to prevent the picture being taken, nor to deny their identity when the photograph was printed.

The Dyer anti-lynching bill provides that any member of a mob which puts someone to death shall be imprisoned for life, or for not less than five years, and that state and municipal officials who thru neglect of duty fail to prevent lynchings shall be imprisoned not more than five years or fined not more than \$5,000. Federal district courts would have jurisdiction. A provision originally contained in the bill, but later stricken out at the behest of the senate, required any county in which a person is lynched to forfeit \$10,000, which would go to the family of the victim. The bill defines "a mob or riotous assemblage" as "an assembly composed of five or more persons acting in concert for the purpose of depriving any person of his life without authority of law." (This number was later changed to three.)

The hideous "joker" in this bill is easily seen. It is well understood that such a law, in the hands of a capitalist class government, would never be used in defense of members or groups of the exploited classes, but if ever applied (any more than the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the constitution) it would be applied only for the framing up and hanging of such "a mob or riotous assemblage" as the Negro tenant-farmers of Elaine, Ark., or of strikers—Negro or white—whose "assembly composed of three or more persons acting in concert" for resistance to exploitation would be quickly judged to have the "purpose of depriving any person of his life without authority of law," if, as usual, the agents of the ruling class succeeded in provoking violence.

This possibility has not been overlooked by the capitalists. The New York Times, discussing the Dyer bill, commented editorially:

"... It is noted that the only killings listed occurred in southern states. There is no mention in the report of the recent massacre of non-union miners in the Herrin, Ill., bituminous coal fields."

The introduction of the Dyer bill let loose a flood of race hating propaganda in the house and the senate. The democrats, who could control no Negro votes and could therefore be more frank about their intentions, filibustered for hours at a time to prevent the bill from coming to a vote, using for their arguments all the lies that have for years poisoned the minds of southerners. Representative Garrett of Tennessee had this to say:

"You gentlemen do not know what it is to live in a section where a wife dare not travel alone in the fields. You do not know what it is to raise a daughter who after the age of ten years lives under the shadow of a Damoclean sword. When you put these ideas into the heads of those few black beasts of their race, you are increasing the commission of crime."

And Representative Prout of North Carolina: "How do you think the black beast will view this law?" And Garrett appealed to the anti-Chinese prejudices of ignorant California representatives, told them that they were "confronted with a perplexing race question," and begged them to "stand with the opponents of the Dyer bill in resisting interference of the federal government in state affairs." "Whatever you people in the west decide to do in working out your problems," said Garrett, "we of the south will understand."

Soon came the news that the anti-lynching bill had divided the republicans in congress. Some of them thought the bill "unconstitutional." Others considered it "unnecessary." Still others thought that it would be "unwise" to hold up other legislation for "this one bill."

But the Negro leader, James Weldon Johnson, himself a muddled follower of the republican party, let the truth of the matter out when he publicly declared a year and a half ago that there exists a "gentlemen's agreement" between the republican and democratic party leaders, by which it is always managed that just enough votes are cast against the bill in the senate to defeat it, or a filibuster is allowed to kill it,—while the republicans retain the reputation of being "for" it.

But as far as there is any controversy between northern republicans and southern democrats over this bill, it is a controversy between the particularism of the backward, rural south and the industrial north, to whose interest it is, generally, to extend federal jurisdiction over all phases of life in the back-country of the south. But to pass this "anti-lynching" bill is not necessary to the purpose, and it was easy to reach the "gentlemen's agreement" to let it die.

Finally however, the bill passed the house, with 17 republicans voting against it. In a few days, to the surprise of many, the senate committee reported favorably on the bill. Little doubt was expressed that, if the bill were allowed to come up, it would pass.

Now the republicans were in an embarrassing position. Fortunately for them, the democrats in the senate began a determined filibuster to prevent the bill from coming up. The next day, word came from the republican caucus that their "dread of an extra session" would probably "force them to drop the anti-lynching measure." And the day after that, the New York Times carried the headlines: "Filibuster kills anti-lynching bill. Republican senators in caucus agree to abandon the Dyer measure. Majority promises democrats bill shall not be called up again in present congress." Senator Lodge said: "The conference decided very reluctantly that it was our duty to set aside the Dyer bill and go on with the business of the session."

And there the Dyer bill has lain, until this year when republican newspapers make much of the reports of southern democrats that they are well able to prevent lynchings themselves, and that Federal interference is unnecessary.

And thus the "gentlemen's agreement" can live, and southern ruling class can lynch its Negro slaves in the court-room instead of the public square.